1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
592 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[80] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[81] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *lonko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[621] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[82] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llakkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llakkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
● 681

[80] Latham, 1904, p. 163. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, comes in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[81] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "brook" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latham (1904, p. 163) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[82] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *lielkaw* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *lelfe* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kowar*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[3] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[4] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kowar* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *lelfe* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *aillal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *aillal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "countries" presided over by *ulmenes*.[5] Several early sources re-

[3] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 120–38; and Edwards, 1932, 14 ff.

[4] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 227.

[5] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the machi goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 756 753
tends to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the machi saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a foreigner, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the machi in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the convict had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Oliverus, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs that forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, bowels and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices." 681 754 753

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The machi have no land and but visual for their communion, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of canelo planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Polygamy was common among the machis and still is to a certain extent, though 355
not as much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *kongo*. They do not wear the chiripá, but a skin apron, called *pamun*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the ceremonies at which howling.

Morals.—These being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 681

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone 682
interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. [362]
Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a melee or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llamas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llamotun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost license prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken orgies, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth
621 generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *mitha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subchiefs at the house or meeting ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower levels and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [715].

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority occurred to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier economic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [716].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say:

The chief crimes recognized were adultery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgments. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, compensation was resorted to, with payment of strings of llamkas . . . [718].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common